[373 cont.]
BR 563 642 one. They are oppressed and exploited, not only by the sovereigns themselves, but also and primarily by the district chiefs. We have said that as a rule such a district has been granted in fee by a sovereign to a member of his family or to someone of the higher nobility, who can then rule as he pleases, except for certain obligations toward the sovereign. These feudal tenants or district chiefs regard the Dajak living in their territory entirely as their property; they dispose of their persons and their goods entirely as they please and oppress them in all kinds of ways. The BR [651] Dajak population is oppressed by a number of taxes. The principal ones are the hasil and the serah. The hasil is a kind of poll tax imposed on each household, lawang or lawa. The serah is forced trade, whereby the necessities required by the natives, such as salt, tobacco, iron, copper wire, cotton goods, etc. are furnished by the sovereign and the high officials at fixed prices to be paid in rice, rattan, and other Dajak products whose value is set by the sovereign. Moreover, the Dajak have to give many kinds of services on behalf of the Malay sovereigns and notables (tilling their fields, building houses, gardens, and proas, etc.). Furthermore, for festivities given by the princes and notables, the Dajak are required to furnish whatever is wanted, and when BR 567 slaves are needed, the Dajak are taken by either force or ruse, or are made bondmen as soon as they fall a little behind in paying the hasil or their debts incurred by the serah.

I BR 636 643 The influence of the Government [374] is still too weak in many places to put an end to these extortions once and for all. The power of the Malay sovereigns does not extend into the interior, however, except in some parts along the Kapuas.

MK ● 642 We shall now consider the states on southern Celebes. We must make a distinction between the states according to their relationship with the Government. 1. Feudal states governed by sovereigns who have their territory in fee from the Government, but otherwise are entirely free in the management of the internal affairs of their states. To this group belong Bone with Lamaroe

MK [374 cont.]
642 in arriere fee, and Tanette with Lipoekasi in arriere fee.
I 2. Allied states. The basis of our relationship with these states
MK is the peace and alliance treaty concluded in 1667 by Speelman,
[648] known under the name of Buginese contract, which was renewed in 1824 by Van der Capellen. Their sovereigns are allies of the Government and have certain obligations to fulfill, such as the
MK protection of trade, guarding against piracy, assistance in case
[636] of war, etc. They are free in the administration of the internal affairs of their state, but when ascending the throne, they must pay a visit to Makassar to be installed by the Government and to renew the contract.

MK These states can be divided by population into Makassa-
101 rese and Buginese states. The most important Makassarese states are Gowa, and Laïkang; the Buginese states are Baröe, Soppeng, Adjatapparang, Mandar (at least in part), Loewoë, Wadjó, Tanette, and Boni. A third tribe that inhabits Celebes is the
T 101 To-radja = mountain-dwellers. Among the principal Toradja states are Masinrimpoeloe and Laiwoei in particular.

MK The main features of the government are similar in all
642 the states. The feudal system exists everywhere on southern
423 Celebes. We have encountered this feudal system in the Malay states on Sumatra and Borneo, but not to the extent that it occurs here. In the first place the feudal system also arose here out of the sovereigns' practice of granting part of the land in fee to their children or relatives to provide for their support or to reward faithful servants. These feudal tenants are called paseadjingang = blood relatives, from the [375] word seadjing = brother. Another way that the feudal system arose was through war, when a weaker prince was conquered by a more powerful one. In the latter case the vanquished was allowed to govern his own land, but he was in the same position as the other feudal tenants. This kind of feudal tenant is called palili. The obligations of these feudal
MK tenants to their liege lord are: to assist him in war, to appear
[211] at his court for ceremonial occasions, festivities, etc., and the

[375 cont.]

642 like. The way the liege lord summons his feudal tenants for a
423 festivity or war is peculiar. The invitation or summons is made
211 by means of bila-bila. Such a bila-bila is a strip of lontar leaf, in which a certain number of flat knots are tied. There are as many knots as there are days before the war starts or the festivity is to begin. There is a great difference in the way the feudal
576 tenant must take the bila-bila from the hand of the messenger or envoy of the liege lord, depending on whether it is a summons to war or an invitation to a festivity. The bila-bila for a festivity is taken by the royal feudal tenant with his right hand, while with the left hand he makes the motion used in dancing. The bila-bila for a war is accepted with the left hand, while he touches the kris with the right hand, the object being to demonstrate his devotion to the liege lord by dancing or swinging the kris. According to Dr. Matthes, bila-bila is a corruption of bilang-bilang, from bilang = to count, since the number of knots in the lontar leaf serve for calculating the number of days before the festivities or war will begin.

643 Otherwise, the government is organized the same as in
645 the Malay states. At the head stands a sovereign who is assisted by a state administrator and a state council. The general name in Makassarese for sovereign is karaëng, and in Buginese arung or patta (1). This is also the title, however, for a nongoverning

1. Since the type for the Buginese sound ę is not in stock, the Buginese words that have this sound are spelled as above.

[376] prince. A ruling prince is karaëng mágaú (from gaú = deed, affair, and ágaú = to be active, to manage, and in Buginese, aru or patta mangkaú (the same radical gaú = deed, affair, and mágaú = to be active, to manage). The name of the state administrator is different in the various states and so is the composition of the state council. We shall now discuss the

MK [377 cont.]
643 children. The other three are called pabitjara or council mem-
645 bers.

The government in the other states is the same with more or less deviation. Besides the sovereign, there is a state administrator as well as a state council which decides all important matters. No governmental act can be performed without its authorization. The members of the state council are also electors, and since they do not have to be concerned at all about the right of the first-born, the power of the sovereign is further reduced. As well as
MK by the state council, the power of the sovereign is further
642 weakened by the many feudal tenants. The form of government
643 is monarchal only in name, but is indeed entirely aristocratic.
645 There is one state where this is even completely the case, namely, Wadjo. Wadjo is wholly an aristocratic republic, governed by 40 princes (patta). The executive power, however, is vested in the six most important ones, the so-called patta-annange, at the head of which stands a president, aru mátowa or patta-mátowa. The other 33 are only summoned for deliberations about peace or war or other important events. A new patta is always chosen from among the nearest blood-relatives of his predecessor. The feudal system also prevails in Wadjo.

G On northern Celebes there are first the Gorontalese states,
101 Gorontalo, Limboto, Bone, Attinggolo, and Boalemo; further-
642 more the small states along the north coast, Bolaang Mongondou,
643 Bolaang Oeki, Bintaoena, Bolaang Itam, Kaidipan, and Boewoel.
645 The government of all these states is fairly uniform. The sovereign bears the title of radja. Next to him is the state administrator, generally called djugugu. There are some other dignitaries, of whom the kapitan or commander of the fleet, who at the same time is commander of the troops on land, is the most important. In most of the states these high officials form a state council,
G which [378] deals with the most important matters. These states,
I
[636] including the Gorontalese, are all bound to the Government by contract.

Makassar OG6
Borneo OC1
Sumatra OD1
Ternate ON16
Gorontalo OG4

I 642 643 645 [386 cont.] administrator and the state council. In most cases the government is only nominally monarchal, because the sovereign has to consult the state council about all important matters. The members of the state council have much power, since at the same time BR I MK they are the electors. This is the case in the Buginese and Makassarese states in particular, and also in the Malay states on the west coast of Borneo. As far as the government of the subdivision of the state is concerned, it often is the case that the sovereigns grant subdivisions, districts if one prefers to call them that, in fee to members of their families for their support, or to faithful servants in order to reward them in this way. Otherwise, the feudal system may also have arisen, as we have seen, through war, for example, when a weaker sovereign was conT G BR S I quered by a stronger one, but was allowed to retain possession of his land. The feudal system exists primarily in the Buginese and Makassarese states, but it also frequently occurs in the Malay states on Borneo's west coast. Concerning the title of the sover643 eigns, we have seen that the title of sultan or [387] raja occur frequently. In the Malayan states of Sumatra, jang dipertuwan or jang dipertuwan besar is a common title, on Borneo panembahan. The title of the state administrator in the Malayan states is often the same as that of the sovereign with the addition of the word muda. In the states of the Moluccas, or rather of Ternate and northern Celebes, the common title is djugugu. As we have seen, the titles of the sovereigns and the state administrators on southern Celebes vary greatly.

I 643 A few remarks in conclusion. Succession to royal office is determined by a choice made by the high officials. When making the choice, however, they must take the royal family into account, primarily the descendants of the functionary to be replaced. It is thus the sons who are considered, namely, the first-born, but it should be noted that women, too, can ascend the throne. This is even the rule among some peoples. This is certainly peculiar, since it is even found in Malayan states, and the constitutional law of Islam does not permit the enthronement

000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
[565] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas, the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said that this will mean very little in this area except for the formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to receive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect, too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean further insecurity for his position. There are great preparations being made for this event at the present time. There will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge. This is merely a generic term. At the top are the ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here (though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng, descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depending on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

Makassar OG6
Sidang OG8

In the Mamasa area there are plenty of slaves and they are divided in inheritance along with the sawah, houses, etc. They "go with" the houses. S 507 428

He also says that in one region on the coast there have been three cases of slave man-commoner woman marriages in one year. Thus the old taboo seems to be weaker, but he admitted that this was on the coast. I told him about my idea concerning the taboo on marriages of higher women with lower men in the Makassarese and Buginese areas. And he says that the law of punishment by banishment for five years now (down from the former twenty, then ten years) is not written in the law, as the Dutch would never do that. It is in adat, and what happens is that such a case will be judged on the adat level and the exile decreed. The pair do not dare disobey and they also do not dare appeal the judgment to the Dutch type of higher court. They simply follow the decree and go away. They believe that if they did not do this they would be poisoned or "a tree would fall on them," etc. S 505 684 671 582 752

In Mamasa, he says, there is much trouble about the stealing of dogs. The folk there say that although dogs are cheap, the people will not have any in the after-life if they are stolen. The Controleur has decreed, therefore, that all dogs not tied up are fair game. Some have been taken and killed, and the folk are now very careful. S 685 231 775

The houses in the Mamasa area are big like those of the Dyak, housing perhaps as many as a hundred. Each family occupies a separate section, and these sections are arranged according to rank. S 342 592 565

He said that the incest taboo there [in Mamasa--Analyst] extends out to third degree cousins. (What does this mean?) S 835

Sumbawa: The Controleur from Mamasa said that I must ask van der Wolk about an island off Sumbawa where it is reported that there are no men, only women. They are supposed to go once a year to Sumbawa and steal men. They keep them on the island for two or three months and then let them go. Male children are kept for seven or eight years and then sent to Sumbawa. He says that the Controleur is fondled by the women when he visits there and that the Resident of Ambon, upon hearing this, ordered the controleur to stay there only a short time. This sounds amazing, and I must check it. What a story! 000

Watampone: In the last few days before leaving I saw a great commotion over the passing of the resident powers to the Hadat Tinggi in the person of the Ketua, the Arumpone. There were hundreds of guests, horse races, and pasar malam for six days. M 541 642●

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
565 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

what seemed to me to be no special order. These included ten (fourteen in all) individuals. At the end of the row sat the only Christian, and the only one without a songko, Lethe. Then there were Wadjo, Pare Pare (represented by a deputy), Laiwui, Masenrempulu (Enrekang), Bonthain, Bulukumba, and two others. To one side sat the representatives of parliament and to the other were the wanua rulers from all over. This notable lot included one old woman (Pingang ruler) who sat sneering with her feet drawn up on a chair. The engineer told me later that she was very willful and scorned younger men who might be higher than she. Thus she is somewhat like the mother in Bontorio, and I wonder, considering all the stories about the imperious Vorstin of Bone, whether women rulers here were not even more tyrannical than men. The most remarkable individual was the radja from Wadjo. He was an old man with a hadji cap and a big head cloth. He had a straggly beard. He is slightly unbalanced and it is reported that the cause of this was a sunstroke which he suffered on the way to Mecca. Although he spoke bad Malay, he stood up several times and talked on and on to the laughter and whispering and ridicule of all. He made quite a show. The Dutch did their best, but it was a sorry show for them with so much talk about merdeka. Why didn't they take my advice? I sat next to a jolly fat man, the deputy of the radja from Pare Pare, and the Aru Bila of Soppeng, a young man who had gone to Mulo school in Makassar. He knows Dutch and a bit of English. Thierens says he's smart. In talking to him he expressed the opinion that he thought the bissu were descended from the pre-Islamic religion of the area. He also told me that there were plenty of tjalabai, or non-official homosexuals in the kampong. He knew about the To Patuntung. So does the Aru Matjege, the young HPB (Hoofd Plaatselijk Bestuur, 'head of the local government') of Watampone, a graduate of OSVIA [Opleidings School voor Inlandsche Amtenaren, i.e., Training School for Native Administrators--Analyst] and the smartest man in the administration of Bone. He is somewhat cocky.

541 728 642 634 [562] [793 838]

The ceremony ended and the guests went off in caravans of cars.

Bone: I went to Bukaka for the last time and pressed the Kepala kampong to tell me how many slaves there were in the kampong. He whispered, "about fifty." Andi had guessed about a hundred. The Kepala kampong said that he had slaves of his own. Both agreed that slaves would get angry if they were called such, but Andi insisted that if a slave belonged to a radja he was usually proud and willing to tell someone of his status.

567 554